1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

/Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally. There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

but there might very likely be some between whom marriage would be permissible, such as, for instance, a man and his WiSi or his widowed BrWi.

The /Kung have no unit within which endogamy is absolutely required. Those of the Nyae Nyae region almost all marry among themselves within the region, not because a formulated social rule definitely prohibits their marrying outside but because they almost never go out. They do not like strange places, strange situations, or strange persons, and have no way of feeding themselves where they cannot depend on receiving food from relatives or friends and, in strange country, either do not know where the wild foods grow or might not be allowed to gather them if they found any. Nevertheless, a few Nyae Nyae /Kung have married other /Kung outside the region, and one /Kung woman we know is married outside her own race, with acceptance and ease of relations all around among her people and his, to a Chwana man at Gam, near the southern border of the region. We think in all probability there must be other mixed marriages along the Bechuanaland border which we do not know about, but we are safe in saying that among the Nyae Nyae /Kung such marriages are rare.

Prolonged intermarriage within the region has woven these people together and much visiting among kin develops acquaintanceships and friendships which unite the whole Nyae Nyae /Kung population. They feel themselves to be an in-group and express this feeling in the words *ju /ǒasi*.[1] *Ju* means 'person' or 'persons';

[1] S. Passarge puts the phrase on his map in *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907, Dietrich Reimer, p. 19), spelling it *Sa²gassi*. He places it on the line of 20° S., slightly to the east of 20° E., near what we call the centre of the Nyae Nyae region, in the area designated on his and other maps as the Kaukau Veld. He places the phrase as if it were the name of a Bushman group, like Heikom, Naron, or some other. He places the name *²Kang* somewhat to the north-west. That is the name we spell */Kung*, which D. Bleek (*A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, 1956, p. 447) records as */Kū*, */Ku* or */Kuŋ* (person, Bushman).

Passarge places the name *²Kang* once more at about 23° S. as the name of another Bushman group. In sound the name is the same or very, very like the name of the more northerly group. Miss Bleek refers to this group as being popularly called 'Koon'. L. F. Maingard distinguishes between the two by spelling the name of the southerly group */Kɔ̄*. The */Kɔ̄* are to be found in B.P., in and south of Okwa. Whereas the /Kung language has four clicks (symbolized now as dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, lateral //), the */Kɔ̄* language is very different and has a fifth click, that of the southern Bushman language groups, the labial ʘ. The phrase *ju /ǒasi* has nothing to do with the */Kɔ̄*.

Maingard in 'Three Bushman Languages' (*African Studies*, 16/1, 1957, p. 37) uses the phrase as the name of a dialect of /Kung—'. . . *dyu/?ǒã:si* (Northern Group, a dialect of /khū, partly in South West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate)'. Bleek (op. cit., p. 354) does not record the phrase in /Kung (her northern Group II), but gives it in Auen (N I) and says it means 'Bushman'. She spells it *ju /wasi*.

We think that the phrase *ju /ǒasi*, which we started spelling in this way because we did not know any better and continue because it is simpler, can be applied to groups of varying size and definition, on a variety of bases, when the in-group quality in comparison with the out-group is to be expressed in some way. When we asked what they call themselves, our /Kung informants often replied '*ju /ǒasi*' as though the phrase might be coextensive with Bushman as distinguished from non-Bushman (Europeans, */ku*, whom the /Kung also call 'red people', i.e. *ju gau*; or Bantu, whom the /Kung call *ju dzo*, 'black people' or */goma* (or */koma?*),' animals without hooves'). They also use *ju /ǒasi* when one might expect them to say '/Kung' as distinguished from other Bushman language groups, or when they distinguish themselves from other /Kung outside their region. They said that the Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south were *ju dole* and they know that the Bushmen at Karakuwise, Nuregas, and Chadum speak /Kung but said they were *ju dole* nevertheless. I had the impression that it was the out-group quality in the phrase (strange and therefore potentially harmful) which was being expressed when they applied it as above and claimed that the Makaukau were a murderous people who have a medicine so deadly that you die if you but glance at it, and that those Nuregas /Kung put poison into the pipes they give you to smoke. One's friend or relative can also be *ju dole* if one is displeased with him.

Isaak Utuhile (a Chwana chief under Queen Moremi, in Kubi, B.P.) said that in the phrase *ju /ǒasi*

Auen

/136 cont./ The approximate number of Auin,
162 naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about 300 persons
Dawis	" 150 "
Stampriet	" 250 "
Rooigrauwater	" 50 "
Korikas	" 150 "
Olifantskloof	" 200 "
Habakobis	" 100 "
Rietfontein	" 200 "
Tjumda	" 100 "
Go	" 150 "
Sidonitzaub	" 1,000 "
Karasburg	" 100 "
Epukiro	" 100 "
Ganab	" 100 "
Gam	" 100 "
Total	about 3,000 persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words,
165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since
161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the
• 648 Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the
144 Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

/148 cont./

628 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for
684 adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is
[439] greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a
324 soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar
276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac-
[531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from
[439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger,
[648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

/151 cont./

533 music than others. I have observed a man who played his musical bow in every spare moment.

Rhythmic hand clapping accompanies singing.

534 237 Dance rattles (guri) are made of the cocoons of a night butterfly. These cocoons are strung on strings and dried. While the cocoons are still soft, little stones or pieces of ostrich egg shell are pressed into the inner cavity and the soft envelope is closed over them (see Photo. 39).

535 The rattles, when they are dried and hard, are strung and fastened to the ankle. They are supposed to be used at all dances.

War dance (see Photos. 41 and 42).

The women sit or stand, clapping their hands and singing, while the men crouch or stand opposite them. One man slides out of the row on his knees toward the row of women and makes war-like gestures, as though he were evading an arrow, flinging a spear, etc.

One of the women thrusts out an arm and utters a brief, deep cry, thereby indicating that a spear has been thrown or an arrow shot. The man pretends he is wounded and screams. If he is "dead," he crawls back, and a new solo dancer takes his place. Women, too, are sometimes "dead" or "wounded."

Indecisive battles are indicated.

Here, too, there are very passionate dancers, both male and female, as well as those who have a special talent for mimicry.

The porcupine dance (see Photo. 40) is performed only by men. A number of men stand facing one another, stamp the ground rhythmically, and utter loud shouts. One of them is the "porcupine," which is beaten to death by another man or stabbed with a spear. Everything is indicated by motions.

Eland bull dance. I was unable to learn the nature of this dance, but apparently the rutting lust of the eland is imitated.

M. Means of Transportation

487 Bush paths are formed by the Bushmen on the main lines of traffic, for instance, from the settlement to water. When a 648 Bushman uses the pad (that is, the road of the Whites), he has an

/151 cont./

648 unusually good conscience. In this case he usually is engaged on a messenger's errand. As a messenger serving the Whites, he may even traverse the territory of a hostile group (always on the highway!), without anything happening to him. This is a concession which the Bushmen make to our superiority.

N. Trade, Money Substitutes, Weights and Measures

438 Trade between friendly groups or settlements is carried on by a fairly small troupe of men and women (a larger troupe would create the suspicion of hostile intentions) going to the settlement with which they want to trade and first laying aside their weapons. Then they ask for permission to enter the settlement.

[619] If two settlements are hostile to each other, which incidentally seems to be the normal state of affairs, women sometimes nevertheless go to the hostile village to trade. Trade is wholly barter.

Despite their primitive nature, these trade relations are territorially very extensive and are carried out through various intermediaries all the way from the Zambezi to the Orange River. It goes without saying that the Auin himself never goes that far.

It appears that in relation to other Bushman tribes the Auin is quite unproductive. For instance, the Kung manufactures the highly valued and profitable ostrich egg chains, and the Noroon [Naron] makes and trades hide clothing and bone arrow points, whereas the Auin appears to be exclusively an intermediary and in this way gains possession of the coveted objects.

I did not get the impression that the Auin trades goods with the express intention of exchanging them further. Rather, it seems that he first acquires the trade items for his own use and later exchanges them again when the opportunity presents itself.

The chief articles of exchange are: salt (from the Noroon), bow and arrow, points for the throwing spear (Makoba), wooden pots, wooden bowls, wooden spoons (apparently from the Ambo or Owakwanguari by way of the northern Hai//um [Heikum]), European store goods from the Aikwe [Naron] of the Chanse Veld.

Within the settlements the following articles are the chief

/155 cont./

628 the slain man. Now, naturally, a blood feud exists between the settlements, which, incidentally, are related to each other directly and by marriage.

● 648 [123] Furthermore, it is interesting that the Auin from Sidonitzaub sent a messenger to me in Rietfontein, where I was station commander, and had him inquire whether I had any objection to their making "orlog" [Tr., probably from the Dutch word oorlog, "war"]. I conveyed to them that the affair was none of my business since the war would take place in British territory. Unfortunately I was transferred from Rietfontein shortly afterward and was therefore unable to witness the campaign as a "military correspondent." According to reliable reports, the war has been settled and three men were killed.

This inquiry addressed to me makes it clear that under the pressure of present conditions the "unfortunate child of the moment" does not always surrender immediately to the impulses of the moment.

674 It is scarcely possible to give even a rough picture of the legal notions of the Auin.

There is no doubt that the Bushman possesses a very definite sense of justice, but I do not feel capable of comparing it intelligibly to our own conceptions of justice.

It is a little easier to indicate what the Bushman (Auin) regards as absolute injustice, such as murder, theft, adultery, violation of the family territory, and stealing water (the latter only if little water is available). At any rate, with extended investigation, the catalogue could be considerably enlarged.

422 Personal property includes the hut (though this is not an object of value), weapons, clothing, utilitarian objects, hides, and ornaments.

It is true that the gathered veld crop, game that has been killed, and water that has been collected are also personal /156/ property, but these are subject to extensive communal use which becomes more limited only in case of famine or a water shortage.

423 The land of the horde is communal property, as are the game, veld crop, wood, and water on the land, the latter with limitations.

When a Bushman has burned off a piece of land in order to

/159 cont./

756 with a considerable portion of actual experience and knowledge.

The doctors are paid for their efforts.

There are also female doctors.

●[648] I have observed no sign of hostility toward Whites among these people. They know how to evade observation, however, even better than the ordinary Bushman, and that says a good deal.

Only the doctor may eat a certain kind of poisonous snake, apparently the so-called black mamba, which I regard as an older type of cobra.

U. Totemism

771 I was unable to observe any indications that might lead one to deduce the existence of totemism.

V. Medicine

755 A man who was suffering from headache had colored his forehead with a black grease that supposedly had curative powers and had wound a thin thong firmly around his head. Our household remedy of firmly squeezing the sides of the aching head with both hands was familiar to the Auin.

278 752 The Bushman doctor makes an antidote from the black mamba, which he alone may eat. This antidote is supposed to help against the bites of all snakes, except that of the mamba itself.

He dries and pulverizes the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poisonous fangs with the poison glands. This powder is stirred into a paste with the fat of the same snake, and the paste, so I was informed, is rubbed into the enlarged wound, which has first been sucked out.

At the same time, various deep incisions are made on the upper arm and chest, from which considerable blood flows.

278 Poisons that work internally are not manufactured. The Auin maintain, however, that the arrow poison also works internally.

The manufacture of arrow poison was described above.

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

000 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric
(121) matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar,
115 Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters
(124) have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous;
● money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the
648 Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the
576 outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

[2 cont.]

648 576 according to strictly regulated codes of conduct. No native would say something unpleasant to another without cause. Modes of address such as are frequently heard among us, for example, "You don't look well, are you ill?" and similar amiable remarks, are out of the question. Each native expects to be treated in accordance with his social position. The natives cannot understand it when, say, a European traveler or missionary treats young people with extraordinary kindness; on the other hand, they find the casual treatment of older people and patresfamilias a sign of crude tactlessness. In Ovamboland, for example, the term of respect for men is tati = "father." The ethnologist who treats 123 648 the grey-haired men of a native tribe as though they were old people of his own race who, in whatever position they may find themselves, have fulfilled their life's task and therefore deserve respect will have won half the battle. However simple and matter-of-course following this maxim might seem, in actual practice it turns out to be quite difficult in many cases. Quite aside from the fact that many a scholar sees in the native less a fellow human being than an object of study, the chief difficulty lies in the traditional forms of conduct that the Whites have adopted toward the natives. No native is allowed to sit on a chair in the company of Whites. In European houses there is usually a little bench in front of or behind the entrance door for black notables. The ordinary native is made to squat on the floor. It is maintained, not unjustly, to be sure, that this is the natives' original manner of sitting; nonetheless, the Black finds this manner of sitting a humiliation if it is forced upon him by the European. The native, in the view of the Europeans residing there, is simply an inferior kind of human being, with whom they do not even want to go to the same church, a circumstance that makes the task of many missionaries considerably more difficult. Should the traveler make a radical break with these customs and practices, he would have to forego the company and support of the Europeans, on whom he is, after all, dependent. Hence, an extraordinary measure of tact is required in order not to injure the pride of either the Whites or the natives. At the same time, it is true that among certain tribes, such as the Herero or the Ombarantu, the dislike of the Whites is so intense that useful

[2 cont.]

123 ethnological work among them, for the time being, is quite im-
648 possible. Even among the Bushmen the matter was by no means simple. Old Khame, who later became my good friend and informant, at first refused to help, saying: "Why should I open my heart to you, since I know very well that you are my enemy." The native also senses very accurately whether the respect one shows him is genuine. Finally, through the way he is treated, he suffers from inferiority complexes that make dealings [3] with him even more difficult. I have treated the natives as though they were Europeans, but naturally with due regard for the native forms of conduct, and in my relations with them I can say that I have been successful.

123 A single serious conflict with the natives can mean the end of an expedition. It is not just that the colonial authorities rightly grant permission to cross the police zone only to those people who have proved capable of getting along with the natives; another reason is the fact that the transmission of news among the [203] natives is extraordinarily rapid. The news of my measurements in Walvis Bay reached the Otjiwarongo Reserve within 14 days, and from there it reached Otjituo in the extreme northeast in a week, not, as one might think, by postal communication, but through migratory Herero. Upon my arrival in Otjituo the people there were already acquainted with my intentions and my personality. The reader may possibly object to my actual accounts on the ground that I have succeeded in providing a fully rounded picture for only a very few tribes. I can truthfully say that there was a sincere intention to investigate the material thoroughly everywhere. I carried on the investigations among the individual [122] tribes for as long as I had money available. It is impossible, after all, to depend entirely on a single informant; instead, several informants are needed in every case. Ethnological inquiries are practically the only situations in which the natives have the opportunity to lay down conditions. I can force the native to string
123 wire, to harvest maize, or to herd cattle as much as I want at the
124 low price customary in the country, but I cannot force him to reveal his old tribal traditions. Not even the Bushmen wanted to take "brown money," but only "white" and "yellow." After I gained the confidence of the natives, as I can truthfully state,

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881 her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
● 648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
/9/ and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[694] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD
DAMA

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107

Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate themselves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not believe that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantuized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides, ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

101
131
172
143
439
648

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [+39] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, 262 but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 134 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the [136] [164] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situation, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of 648 the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The individual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind [578] [619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for [464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms. [177] [439] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[18 cont.]

648 Nogau, the !Kung who are settled in the Sand Veld east of the Omuramba u Omatako are more hostile toward the Whites, and the attitude of the Whites and natives on the farms is correspondingly hostile toward them. This attitude is explained by the fact that only in recent times the Bushmen were forced out of the region west of the Omuramba and now have considerably reduced the scant living space of their brothers east of the dry bed. The living conditions in this region are hopeless. The !Kung live in symbiosis with the tribes along the Okovanggo. Lacking a stable social organization, lacking fixed dwellings in the narrower sense, the Bushmen is much less manageable than, say, the black farmers. Making the tribe collectively responsible, which is the best protection for the European, cannot be used against the Bushmen, and the likelihood of seizing a Bushman who has committed a crime on the edge of the police zone or outside it is zero. One must keep this in mind in dealing with them. On the other hand, I had no bad experiences with them.

[19] The Biological Bases of Life

1. The Number

161 Seiner has estimated the number of the !Kung at about 12,000. Since then, the wars of 1914-15, as well as the steady deterioration of the water conditions, have strongly curbed any increase, so that their number has certainly not risen in the last 20 years.

621 The basic social unit is the essentially patriarchal family horde, which on the average consists of one or two old men, four to six adult men, an equal number of women capable of bearing children, and a number of old matrons, as well as the 221 children. Toward the end of the winter they assemble in great 621 numbers at the few remaining watering places; they then meet again when the first veldkost ripens at certain places, frequently several hundreds of them; and then, when summer sets in, they again move in small groups to their family terrain. As examples, 162 I shall give four hordes for which I was able to determine the

/19 cont./

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

/20/ Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika /Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa/, Berlin, 1906.

●648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

!KUNG

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed [177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instruments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a number are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at [648] housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living [177] habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa. He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but [648] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them. [147] The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed 609 person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse, he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A 186 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not 609 belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their 602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the [543] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate. [157]

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 177 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they 157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 [574] 609 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allowing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them. [431] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted. 181 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words, 577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his [648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181 648 1. A European had once illegally

/22 cont./

181
●648

appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

(576) Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

(514) The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

!KUNG

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

831 In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality, naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

[593] As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

[27 cont.]

Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this time run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[43 cont.]

732 Blindness in one eye is very common as the result of wounds inflicted by thorns. Among very old people I have also found blindness as the result of cataract. Here and there one also finds
(648) Bushmen who in olden times had been captured by the Herero, who shot out their eyes with grass seed.

Ear Ailments

757 They are relatively rare. For an ordinary earache, leaves are stuffed into the ear "so that it will stay warm." The aching ear is likewise held over the fire, in which some medicine has been placed. If pus comes out of the ear, the ache stops and all

[413]

Fig. 16. Scratching Instrument. Iron leaf fastened to a little stick with resin and leather strips. (Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg; actual size [as shown in original text].)

[753] [44] is well. If //Gauab has put something in it, however, the pains become so strong that one can no longer sleep or hear. In
[755] such cases one must call an especially powerful doctor, who draws out the spirits of sickness; otherwise the patient will die.

[45 cont.]

147
262

Bushmen stared longingly at the discolored lump of fat. Finally they sent a deputation to me, saying that they wanted the bacon for their dogs. The moment they received it, it was skillfully divided according to families and consumed in the course of a great feast, without any harmful effects.

enormous quantities, but such excesses as a rule are followed by an indisposition. The day after a major feast, almost all of them lie in the sun with stomach-ache and gripes. In other words, even a Bushman should not be credited with the impossible with regard to food; many things that seem repulsive to us, such as earthworms, lizards, thick grubs, mice, and the like, are in themselves not at all harmful to health, especially since the Bushman only eats them cooked or roasted. Bushmen who have grown up on the farms can take the same diet as the Whites or Blacks. On
147 the other hand, the wild Bushmen who have grown up on veldkost
262 and the flesh of wild animals cannot accustom themselves to the
●648 work and prison diet of the Blacks. A term in jail of any great length means condemnation to a slow but sure death for most Bushmen. The prisoners show the symptoms of vitamin deficiency, become infirm, get edemata on their legs, dropsy, and unfailingly perish. In the initial stage severe sluggishness of the bowels sets in. Ample portions of fresh meat can keep the Bushman healthy even in imprisonment. The fact that Bushmen run away from the
[464] farms is based in most cases upon their inability to endure any
[146] longer the diet given them. The vitamin need of the Bushman who has grown up in the wilderness is undoubtedly much greater, and his longing for meat, which often appears pathological, can be explained as a physiological craving for vitamins.

Diseases of the Urogenital System

164 Catarrhs of the bladder occur; in such cases a flat stone
[755] is warmed in the fire and placed on the bladder region. Hematuria, evidently the result of nephritis, was twice treated by my friend

[52 cont.]

754 further. The belly of the unconscious person swells enormously.
755 When all other procedures have proved futile and someone remembers that this or that doctor has the magic medicine, he is called in, takes some of his bloodlike fluid from his horn, and first smears his own feet and then rubs the patient's feet and, above all, the patient's stomach in a circular massage. Gradually the swelling recedes, the patient gets up, sits down, and is cured.

648 This story, based upon the fact that there are roots with bloodlike sap, became known by the farmers in a confused fashion and was the cause of the ridiculous fear of the secret poisons of the Bushmen that many farmers have.

15. The Elements

773 821 Heaven and earth, sun and moon, all was made by ǂ'u, the great captain, the supreme being. In the sun-scorched deserts inhabited by the Bushmen, the sun is no dispenser of mercy. During the hot season even the Bushman is forced to remain in the shade in the daytime, because the sand is so hot that he cannot walk on it.

The sun was a daughter of man. The Bushmen had seen her, and the men had to carry this daughter, but since she burned with such heat on their shoulders, the men had to frequently change places. When the shoulders of all the men were burned, they left the sun lying in the bush and did not take her to the huts. This is the place from which the sun rose. She is from the great captain.

When the sun sets, she sits down on the earth to eat. When it is to be day, one of her shoulderblades goes to the other side of the world where it appears as the sun. The sun's rays (/gam ǂhãsn) are the arms of the sun. The eclipse of the sun (ǂKáo) is caused by the lions so that they can more easily eat human beings.

The Bushman becomes cheerful only when the cool of the evening arrives, and at the time of the full moon he celebrates his festivals. There is no question of moon worship, however, among the !Kung Bushmen I visited.

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
● 648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

[60 cont.]

648 and their brains eaten. (The latter report probably referred to the people of Karakowisa.) Concerning our !Kung, a farmer wrote at that time (1927):

"Lately, complaints about the slaughtering of cattle stolen by the Bushmen are increasing at a disquieting rate. Only in very rare cases can the culprits be brought to justice. It is true that the police make the greatest effort to do so, but success is rare. In the first place, a single white policeman with a native police assistant cannot do a great deal in view of the great mobility of the Bushmen. He will usually appear on the scene too late to be able to take up the prosecution successfully. The farmers concerned have made all kinds of proposals, which usually amount to the idea that the police and farmers should simultaneously set out after the wandering Bushmen. It would probably be best to draw a clear boundary line for the idle Bushmen, across which they may not pass into the territory inhabited by Whites. That the Bushman knows how to respect boundaries is apparent from the fact that he is careful not to enter the hunting territory of another kin group. Every Bushman caught within such a delimited territory inhabited by Whites [61] should without further ado be arrested and punished by forced labor, which, in view of his holy terror of any kind of work, would probably be most unpleasant to him.

"Under the conditions prevailing at the present time it is primarily the farmers bordering on Bushman territory who suffer to the extent that many of them are seriously considering giving up farming, because otherwise the last head of cattle will be slaughtered within the foreseeable future. The farmer, with his neighbors, should be allowed to follow the trails leading from fresh slaughtering places and, in serious cases, to fire on the Bushmen, just as the Bushman, after all, would use his bow and arrow. The Bushman recognizes no authority; hence he should be placed under extraordinary laws. When, as recently happened here, a strong police patrol spends almost a month to catch cattle thieves, and then the 12 accused, who doubtless were guilty of slaughtering the animals, all have to be acquitted because a witness for the Crown fails to support the case for the prosecution, then it is

[61 cont.]

648 clear that our laws are unsuitable for these Bushmen. One can readily understand that the injured farmer, who in a short period of time has had about 20 head of cattle stolen and eaten, will become desperate in view of the acquittal, since he can well imagine that as a result of the acquittal, the reasons for which the Bushmen do not understand anyway, the latter will be tempted to further acts of depredation."

From the Epukiro region another farmer reports:

"I live not far from the boundary of Bechuanaland. There are a great many vagrant Bushmen here, who are armed with poisoned arrows. These Bushmen frequently attack the cattle of the natives whenever it is any distance from the kraal. A few days ago Bushmen stole and killed two head of cattle belonging to a Herero kraal about six miles from our camp. The Herero followed the trail of the Bushmen and found them. The latter immediately made use of their bows, and one of the Herero was wounded by an arrow on the right side of his chest. The wound was inflicted about four o'clock in the afternoon; about one o'clock in the afternoon of the following day the wounded man died. As soon as my friend learned of the situation, he sent some permanganate of potash to the kraal with directions as to its use. But this seems to have arrived too late. One of the horses was slightly wounded in the head, but it appears to be nothing serious. I saw the corpse of the Herero early in the morning after his death; it was badly swollen and decomposed. The natives said that decomposition set in even before death. -- As will be remembered, three years ago the Gobabis magistrate, Mr. Reyneveldt, was wounded by Bushmen with a poisoned arrow in the same region and died shortly thereafter."

(These data are taken from the Windhuker Zeitung.) [Fig. 21a appears here.]

[65 cont.]

101 131 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to [10] [175] 648 the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago, 175 648 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game, they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a [178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain 123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there 195 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

[68 cont.]

142 144 Racially, these Bushmen are smaller and lighter in color than those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and going in this region. Seiner (1) reports the following:

● 648

[113]

1. J. Seiner, "Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn [The Line of Communication between German Southwest Africa and the Bechuanaland Railway]," Globus, Vol. 96, 1910.

"The Bushmen from around Rietfontein are friendly to the Germans and repeatedly supplied the station garrison with effective help against the Herero and Ovambandjeru passing through. At the time of my stay in January and February, 1907, there was a small village of the Au-nin, who belong to Passarge's Kaukau people, one kilometer north of the barracks, and a village of the Ai-khoe, whom Passarge includes among the Ngami people, one and a half kilometers southwest of the station. The Bushmen of the latter village were subject to the Au-nin, who called them Naru (subordinates, slaves). Since in June, 1908, Dr. Pöch found only Au-nin in Rietfontein, it would seem that the Ai-khoe, in the meantime had emigrated or were driven out by the Au-nin."

To some extent all these tribes represent a cultural unit. A fine study by First Lieutenant Kaufmann (2) is available for the

[184] 114

[113]

2. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAu-in, "Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1910.

ǂAuin, and one by D.F.Bleek (3) for the Naron. I shall now compare

[113]

3. D.F.Bleek, "The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari," Publications of the School of African Life and Language, Cambridge, 1928.

these tribes with one another, and it is to be understood that only the data concerning the Nogau are my own.

/246 cont./

142 The Herero, like the Bushmen, give the use of veld food,
147 especially the onion known as unki, as the cause of this peculiarity.
191 The attached photographs illustrate the swelling in the case of a Bushman (Fig. 3) and a Herero (Fig. 4).

142 The nose is sharply set off from the forehead and strikingly small. The bridge of the nose is so flat that in some cases one can scarcely speak of a bridge of the nose; the area between the cheekbones is an almost level surface. The tip /247/ of the nose is small and pointed slightly upward. The largest diameter of the nostrils runs diagonally. The lips are narrow in comparison with those of most Negroes; their color is almost exactly that of the surrounding skin of the face.

The teeth of the majority of individuals are in pretty good condition; among the 39 persons I examined, I found only 28 carious teeth. In comparison with a European, the extreme wear of the teeth is striking; it progresses with age and is so marked in old people that the teeth are worn down to the roots, again a consequence of the way of life dependent upon a root diet. The incisors very slightly point forward.

304 The Heikum do not have artificial deformities of the teeth.
●648 Several of those examined displayed the well-known Herero deformity (filing down the inner sides of the two central upper incisors and removal of the four lower incisors) [Figs. 3 and 4 appear here], which is explained by the fact that these Bushmen had been Herero slaves in their childhood and were marked in the Herero manner by their former masters.

142 The ear is of normal size; its outline is rounded, not bent at an angle. The ear lobe is always joined to the head.

In spite of general gauntness, the marked development of the abdomen in most cases is striking, even among the adults.

The female breast is conical in the case of individuals who have not borne children; the region around the nipple is usually separated by a gentle furrow from the rest of the breast. The color of the nipple area is deep brown. The nipple is raised.

[304] Circumcision is not practiced by either men or women. Among the Heikum and Kung women I did not find the abnormally pronounced development of the buttocks, known as steatopygia, which
[144] is so common among Hottentot women. To my mind this is

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

●648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject
184 of special study. Our investigation of the /Kõ and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600
[123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and
601 over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco, and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

also because, made of cloth instead of leather, it is more clinging, therefore warmer and more comfortable, and dries faster when wet. It is sought after and desired, it is got through employment; yet, even so, Bushmen hesitate to seek employment because they believe that they will be badly treated (as they sometimes are) and they often find the customary wage and food ration to be inadequate for anyone who must support a family. Supposedly, the wives of Bushmen laborers are free to look on the farmer's land for roots and berries, as they would if they were living in the veld; but, as it happens, after a few years the supply of wild food around a farm becomes exhausted.

The Bantu farmers, being as a rule much poorer than the European farmers, are less generous to their Bushman serfs. They also give a food ration of cornmeal and milk but almost never meat, for any meat that may come into the Bantu kraal is eaten by the Bantus unless it is the carcass of a hyena or a leopard which the Bantu masters have killed for the pelt. The Bantus say: "Our Bushman servants are like our children; they herd our cattle for us and we feed them. A child does not ask for wages when he helps with the family work."

Besides this, the Bantus badly cheat the Bushmen who come in from the veld to trade cured antelope hides for metal and tobacco, sometimes asking several hides, worth several pounds apiece, for enough tobacco to fill the palm of the Bushman's hand, or for a piece of wire long enough to make an arrowhead. All in all, it does not benefit the Bushmen to live anywhere near Bantu or European settlements, and that is why the Bushmen of the veld run and hide when they see Europeans coming, believing that they may be taken by force (as they sometimes are), and why they avoid going to a Bantu settlement except to trade for tobacco when they feel

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
[191] kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early thirties and had been working for some time for European farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[465] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own country, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from his own people, I asked him where he had come from and how he had learned Afrikaans.

[153] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have
[191] been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
888 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that white people used to hunt Bushmen and wanted to kill us for our land. The farmer took me to his farm and I pulled weeds and watched his cattle. He gave me milk and corn-meal, but I didn't like it. I told him milk was for babies and I wanted him to take me back to my country, but he laughed at me.

"He called me Goliath because I was so small. Goliath, come here. Goliath, watch my calves. And later he gave me a shirt to cover my body and then I went to work for another master, who gave me a goat, and then I worked for my last master, who paid me shillings. But I am leaving here too because in South-West Africa they pay better. I am a father now, you know."

The day Tami left, I walked over the veld toward a road to say good-by to him, and when I got halfway there I found that he had come halfway to say good-by to me. He was holding his goat by the horns, and behind him his wife, wearing a horrid rag of a European dress, was standing with the baby inside the front of the dress. I gave Tami a knife and his wife a scarf of mine, although I had nothing to give to the baby, and they said good-by to me and turned, Tami dragging the goat around, pretending to be very jaunty, and they set out walking toward the road that leads to South-West Africa.

Times have changed since Tami's father died. In those days, to be sure, there was a great deal more friction between Bushmen and non-Bushmen than there is now because the Bushmen who lived near the farms of European or Bantu farmers quite often killed cattle. It is sometimes said that they did so because they were unable to distinguish between cattle and wild game, or that the cattle drove away the wild game so that the Bushmen would have had no meat if they had not killed the cattle, but I very much doubt that either of these things was true. Most probably, the Bushmen found

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that hunting cattle was extremely easy, and also, very probably, they wanted to revenge themselves upon the owners of the cattle, whom they believed to be encroaching upon the land they considered their own. Today, largely because the ownership of the land has been determined, many fewer cattle are killed by Bushmen.

Of course, it is quite against the law for any farmer to keep Bushmen against their will and without recompense, but in the most remote outposts, on many farms, the laws cannot always be enforced. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate today, and also, I believe, in South-West Africa, the governments are trying to set wage scales and provide education for Bushmen, something very difficult for these governments to do as the Bushmen represent only a small fragment of the population, pay no taxes whatever, of course, and are in great demand as laborers; but the only Bushmen who so far can benefit from this are those who already live on the more central farms. Most Bushmen live in the veld, many in almost unreachable parts of the desert, and these people are still being taken by farmers and made to work almost as slaves.

Usually Bushmen do not run away from their masters unless a very good chance presents itself, such as the master's departure for a time, in which case he may return to find that all his Bushmen have run. But to escape is not always easy; the Bantus usually ride after the escaping Bushmen and drag them back, sometimes beating them severely as well. We once learned of a Bushman who, trying to escape, was captured by his Bantu master and beaten to death, his potential labor being sacrificed to set an example for others.

A European farmer can sometimes get police help in recapturing his escaped Bushmen if the farmer has paid the Bushmen some wages in advance and is owed the Bushmen's labor. European farmers are also not always lenient with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FOUR

The Fire

After a long talk with Gai and Ukwane we found that, because of a shortage of melons and roots, they did not like to live at the place where we found them, which was called Gu Nu, and they were planning to move. We asked them if they would mind our coming with them when they did move, and they, with great aplomb, showing no surprise at what must have seemed a strange request, said politely that they would not mind at all. We had good relations with them by that time and had already been living near them for several days.

As we would be asking them to spend time talking with us, we agreed to give them food, water, and firewood to make up for what they might gather if we were not taking their time, as well as salt and tobacco to make their hearts glad. It seemed to be a good arrangement, and they were as pleased as we.

Soon after that, when Ukwane had decided where to go, we packed up our camp, they packed up theirs, and we put everything on the trucks and drove away. The Bushmen all rode with us except the two oldest women, Kutera and Dasina, who said they were too tired to ride and preferred to walk. They did, too, taking with them all their possessions as

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER TEN

Beautiful Ungka and Lazy Kwi

For two days we drove our trucks through the scrub forests 648 ● of Nyae Nyae and on the third day we came to a water pan not far from the village of Gam. In 1953 we had lived at Gam a short time; it was the cattle post of a very wealthy Chuana farmer. This farmer lived at Tsau, a large Bantu town several days' travel from Gam, but he had cattle posts with herders all through the country, keeping only fragments of his great herd at each one. Two Chuana families guarded his cattle at Gam. The village had once been the home of about a hundred Bushmen, but when the Chuanas had taken it, many of the Bushmen had been made serfs and they and their families now worked for the Chuanas, tending the herds.

The little pan near Gam was full of blue water, and was [133] surrounded by yellow-leafed trees. We found two ostriches be- 136 side it. The ostriches stared mutely at us first, very wide between the eyes and square at the jaw, until it came to them that we were not ostriches; and with that they rushed headlong away, flapping their ostrich-feathered wings, working their naked thighs and knees like pistons, wildly out of control. They had an air of old people with tough, gray, varicose-veined legs, wearing nothing to hide their nakedness but lit-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

136 tle feather boas around their waists, which were the wings.

As we left the pan a boar got up from the grass where he was lying and ran before us, a warthog with a heavy neck and red bristle of a mane, with curved tusks and with his tail stiff up in the air like a banner, trotting like a horse. He held his head high and ran away proudly, and he was old and very massive for a pig.

Not long after that we saw the two thatched rooftops of the village of Gam. A feather of smoke was rising over the rooftops, and soon we were there.

648 609 The people must have heard our trucks. A small crowd was standing in the bushes, the people watching apprehensively as we came up. Mostly they were Bushmen, naked and smooth and brown, but here and there we saw a Bushman man wearing a ragged shirt or a woman in an old, filthy dress. In the crowd, towering over the Bushmen, were the Chuanas, a woman and a man, the woman dressed in a turban and a long dress, the man in shorts and a jacket. These two were the cattle-keepers. When our trucks stopped, the woman recognized us and, clapping her hands together, ran forward to meet us, followed at once by several Bushmen who also recognized us, and after that the crowd broke and all ran forward, the tense looks of apprehension gone, for if all the Bushmen had not known us they had heard of us and knew who we were. In a moment we found ourselves in the center of the crowd as all the Bushmen who knew us threw their gentle arms around us, touching us so lightly that it was like being embraced by moths. All those who did not know us crowded to look at our faces, and everyone talked at once until our ears rang. The Chuana couple, both more reserved, held back until the others had greeted us and then came forward to shake our hands.

621 When the excitement had died a little and everyone had a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

When we met her at Gam we noticed that she had begun to 159
walk like a beauty, proudly and aloof, but she was only six-
teen and soon her reserve broke and she was very friendly,
happy to see us, and we noticed then that her husband was
not with her and was nowhere to be found. In fact, as we
looked at all the faces, we saw that many people who should 609
have been there were not. We asked for this person and that 648
person, and the two Chuanas, instead of answering, invited
us to their house where we could talk. My mother, my brother,
myself, and Ledimo, the interpreter, who had been with us
before and had been almost suffocated by the demonstration
of affection he had received, walked to the village of Gam
while the rest of the expedition went on to make camp.

The village of Gam was more peaceful than ever. We first went through a tiny gate in the high fence of cut thorn bushes which surrounded the village, put up to keep the cattle safe from the lions and other wild creatures at night, then past the ten or fifteen Bushman scherms that housed serf Bushmen, to the central part of the village where the Bantu houses were. There had been two; now there were three, but one was unfinished, and this was a large square dwelling with a window and a door. The other two houses—occupied by the two Chuana couples—were round, built of mud plaster, and had great thatched roofs but no windows, only doors. A thorn bush had been pulled into one of the doors, intended to keep the dogs and goats of the village from walking inside, a sign that the owners planned to be away for a long time. Gourds with milk in them hung from the roofpole of the other house; leaning against the wall was a basket of souring *muhengo* grain. The Chuana woman was brewing beer. A goat had been butchered and skinned and hung from a tree by one hind foot, and the sunlight shone red through it like sunlight shining through an ear.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

648
609 The Chuana man went into the house and brought out two chairs made of poles and thongs in imitation of European chairs but much smaller. He and my mother sat in these while John, Ledimo, the Chuana woman, and I, being young people, sat on the clay ground. Presently the Chuana man began to speak, saying he hoped we had come well.

My mother asked for his cattle, how they were, and his goats, if they had increased, how the rains and crops had been, and if he had heard about the water in Lake Ngami, which he had. My mother said: "Time must have stood still here. No one looks a bit older."

"Yes," he said. "We get sick sometimes, but we have not changed."

But things had changed; it came out that their son, the other Chuana couple, two entire bands of Bushmen whom we had known at Gautscha, and many Bushmen from Gam, including the husband of Beautiful Ungka, had been taken away by Europeans to work on the farms. Three times European farmers had come, having followed in the tire tracks we ourselves had left behind the last time. They came all the way to Gam, where they had found the Bushmen, no longer shy of Europeans, and had "offered to take them for a ride on their trucks but had promised to bring them back." The Bushmen had believed them, had gone for the ride, and of course were never seen again. That is why Gam seemed so peaceful, so empty, and the people so lonesome and sad. The worst of it was that families had been separated, both between Gam and the farms and between different farms.

One group of farmers had taken some young Bushman children who had been playing in the veld. When the mothers had called their children and had got no answer, then had looked in the veld and found their children gone, they had walked in the tracks the trucks had left to follow their chil-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dren to the farms. The mothers and the children had never returned.

The farmer who had taken the Chuana couple's son had offered him food and clothes but no wages. When his mother had refused to let him go, the farmer had told her that she herself would have to leave Gam and move to Bechuanaland (there has always been a dispute about the border between the two countries, which affects the Chuana people who try to move across). The woman, assuming that the farmer was a government official, had been too frightened by this threat to prevent her son from leaving. She had been building a large new house, even planning to put a pane of glass in the little window, but she had been too discouraged to finish it, believing that she would have to leave it soon.

It was extremely sad to sit there talking about such things. The Chuana man held his head in his hands and his wife was almost crying, and it seemed very empty and lonely there on the hot gray ground with flies all around us in the air and birds flying above.

When we went back to our camp it was already dark and we found that Lazy Kwi, his wife, and all her family had moved in beside us to be near us. They seemed rather cheerful because they were all together, and they expressed their optimism by burning an entire log. This is prodigal for Bushmen, who usually burn just one small stick at a time, or at most the end of a small log, letting the fire work up the log by inches. The people sat with their legs stretched out, allowing the fire to warm them, and in the firelight their skins seemed blood red, all except Lazy Kwi, whose skin was as dark as the night. Lazy Kwi was always changing color. When we first had met him we had thought he must be the darkest-skinned Bushman anywhere, but this was only so because he had rubbed himself all over with medicine paste and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

tree, and, looking inside it, found that it was filled with rain water. They told the rest of us, who went to get a drink. It was just a dead and blasted tree full of murky water, but, standing in front of it, Lazy Kwi began to fumble in his hunting-bag for his drinking-straw. He slipped the straw into a crack in the bark, drank, and held the straw for the next person. The straw was a reed with a hollow center and very hard to drink from, I found when my turn came to take a sip, for it was badly cracked. It was all one could do to suck hard enough to moisten one's tongue, the water was stagnant, and the reed tasted strongly of the inside of Lazy Kwi's hunting-bag, but everyone drank, and when they had enough they returned to the fire. Something must have reminded Lazy Kwi of the European farmers on the way, for he announced naïvely: "They did not give me a shirt to put on my body."

When the fire was burning well the two men went to the bee tree. It too was dead, taller than the others in the forest and quite conspicuous. Lazi Kwi knocked on it with his ax and it gave forth a hollow sound. Then Lazy Kwi picked a straw and poked it into a tiny hole in the wood, and when he withdrew it there was honey on it and two bees. One bee detached itself and stung Lazy Kwi on the ribs and Lazy Kwi shook his skin like a dog. His father-in-law came forward with a smoking branch and held this near the hole. He blew smoke inside and the bees began to moan, low and ominously, the moan mounting in volume as Lazy Kwi chopped a piece from the tree above the hive. Four or five bees flew out of their hole; one flew at me and stung my face. The sting felt like a blow and in a moment the side of my face was numb and swollen. Lazy Kwi saw what had happened and he scratched the sting out with his fingernail. The old man by now had chopped away a large section of the tree and the bees poured down from the opening like water from a tap, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

with his possessions—bowls, fire sticks with which the Bushmen kindle fires, skins, and little bags of food.

Just before we left, the Chuana woman came to say good-by and I gave her some tea and a bottle of perfume that was given to me when I left America. My mother gave her a silk scarf and some bars of scented soap, and the woman, overwhelmed, sat down on the ground with these things in her lap and with the aid of the interpreter she started to thank us, but then she said: "Too much thanks is like a curse. I sit here with my delights."

After that we climbed on the trucks and drove away, looking back to see the sky of evening and the dry hills around Gam, and the Chuana woman still sitting on the ground waving to us. In back of her, a group of serf Bushman women were thoughtfully carrying away the firewood we had left behind.

Many miles from Gam we camped for the night and all the sky in the west was hazy red with the flat-topped thorn trees blue below it, and suddenly through the haze a herd of giraffes ran from a thicket near us into the open plain. There were nine giraffes and eight were females, all strung out in a line with their strong legs slowly opening, then bunching as they ran and their heads on their long necks stretching out and back, out and back. Behind the females ran the bull, an enormous creature half again as tall as they were, half again as broad, mighty and ponderous as he reached his long legs forward to overtake his wives.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

clumsy, before it dropped to the earth again. The last pale 133
light faded on the horizon and for a minute the sky looked like the cold sky over tundra or over an icy sea before the empty veld turned dark.

To clear the grass from our camping-site we lit a little grass fire, being too tired to pull up every blade of grass by hand, and the little flames seemed so cheerful and warm that we felt better right away. We made a cooking-fire and cooked our meat, then unrolled our blankets to lie upon, and we found that because the wind had died our cooking-fire shed so much heat that we were as warm as we would have been in a shelter.

We made coffee and talked all evening, and unnoticeably 133
our fire burned very low and we got colder, the night seemed 648
darker and in the dark the koorhan began to call again, and when we looked far over the veld for the light of another fire but saw none it came to us that Toma might have been taken by the farmers after all. We talked for a while about that, but then Lazy Kwi said he believed that Toma was somewhere not very far away but was too clever to show himself. After our last expedition had left Nyae Nyae the last time, Lazy Kwi told us, Toma had waited months, whole seasons, for us to come back and when he had heard the trucks of the farmers he had gone to them, thinking it was us. "Now he is angry. Now he is too clever to make that mistake again," said Lazy Kwi.

That did seem possible, so we stood up and shouted 123
Toma's name again; but even at night, when sound carries best, we heard only our echo, distant and diffuse, and at last we built up our fire and got ready to sleep. The night was perfectly quiet. No sound came from the wind or animals, only the sparks snapping from our fire, which burned for a while but soon died to embers and the smoke rose white and ghostly into the dark.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

buffalo, not hearing them, would relax, lie down, and itself get stiff and sore. In the morning the two men had found where the buffalo had slept, also a damp spot of its urine with black flecks in it (which I believe were flecks of blood) and Toma had pushed a poison arrow into the spot of urine so that the buffalo would be unable to urinate again, unable to rid itself of more poison.

The men had followed the buffalo's track for three days, knowing from its footprints that it was getting weaker, staggering, and in the morning of the fourth day they had come over a rise of ground and had seen it far ahead of them, lying on its side as if dead. The two men wisely had not gone up to it, but had squatted where they were to watch it, remaining this way for most of the day, and when the buffalo had not even flicked its tail or heaved its sides in breathing, Toma had considered it safe enough to approach. He had done this cautiously, very carefully, balancing his long spear in his hand, but just as Toma had stood near the buffalo, spear poised for the stab that would kill it surely, the buffalo had lurched to its feet, had chased Toma, and had tossed him on its horns.

The great boss, the heavy mass of horn on the buffalo's forehead, had cracked Toma's ribs and one curved horn had hooked in Toma's side, passing through his body and out his back. Toma had lain unconscious and Lazy Kwi had carried him home; later, other hunters of Toma's band had found the buffalo truly dead, partly eaten by vultures, and had taken the meat; but nothing, no medicines or cures that the Bushmen had used, had helped Toma, and the people had expected him to die.

Gautscha was the country of Toma's wife, and when Toma had realized how sick he was he had wanted to return to his own people, the people of Gam. Lazy Kwi and another man

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

had carried him there and it was there that the second group of farmers had found him, unable to escape or to resist, and they had taken him away. His wife was still waiting at Gautscha and Lazy Kwi had returned there to tell her that her husband had gone.

At the farm, though, Toma's luck had begun to turn. The farmer had gradually managed to heal his wounds with medicine and treatment, and by the start of the dry season Toma had felt quite well. One night, when the veld was quiet and dark, Toma had thanked the farmer in his heart, had gathered all the Bushmen on the farm together, and had led the people over the veld, all the way back to Nyae Nyae. It had been a long walk, a long way, but Toma had managed. Now, said Lazy Kwi, Toma's wound ached on cold days and sometimes his vision was blurry, but he was pleased with himself and pleased to be back in his own country.

Lazy Kwi was pleased with him too, and he smiled when he finished the story.

When the first light of morning came, the air was so cold that our breath made clouds. We got up, fed the fire, and cooked the remainder of last night's meat, then drove off in the jeep again, for in that early light we had seen the smoke of three veld fires on the horizon, one in the south, two in the west, perhaps kindled by Bushmen during the night, perhaps revived by the wind from old embers, and we planned to make a circle to investigate them all.

On the way we found a bee tree that had been raided for its honey and we believed that Toma had done it, although the break was old and the bees were gone away; but after looking at it a moment Lazy Kwi remembered that he had done it himself during the last rains. He remembered too that there had been very little honey and that he had got stung, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

men so badly that they had fled in all directions into the veld and the white farmers had not recruited any labor. We wondered how Short Kwi had managed his escape and Toma told us that his brothers-in-law had helped him. They had carried him on their backs to a far place, taking turns.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

together in front of the truck and when we climbed down they embraced us.

We went on toward the werf with these men and boys clinging to the sides of the truck and laughing loudly at those among them who were raked by thorn branches that the truck drove through, and at the edge of the werf we saw the women standing all together, waving and calling to us, and we stopped again and they too embraced us and kissed me, and the little children gravely shook my hand.

Short Kwi's mother-in-law was there with a wide and toothless smile, her face all wrinkled like a little shriveled pear, and many other people, among them the old man who had never shot a buck and whose sister had died in the forest; he now was nobody's close relative and we noticed he had lost an eye and seemed even more malevolent and sad. He greeted us distantly, but the others were enthusiastic. The little children tried to climb on me and finally someone put a baby in my arms. The baby bit me, but he meant me no harm, for when he bit I felt the sharp edge of a new tooth coming, which probably itched.

We passed through the bushes and came into the werf, where the people had obviously been living for a long time, judging by the size of the ash heaps at the fires and the depth of the nests that people had dug for themselves. Looking around, it came to us that many people whom we had expected to see were not there, Short Kwi for one, and his wife. When we asked for them, Short Kwi's brother-in-law said that he would take us to see him presently. When we asked for the others who were missing—among them the man with two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama—we were told that these people had all been taken by the farmers and had never been seen again. We were very sad to hear it, for many of them were too old to have to do the heavy

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

work required on the farms, and also because certain members of the families were still here and now these families were broken forever.

On our way to see Short Kwi, the brother-in-law led us to the far end of the werf, behind a clump of bushes, to the scherm where Short Kwi lived. We saw him there, sitting with his wife and little daughter by the ashes of their fire, side by side, and we caught our breath at the sight of him. He looked tiny, no bigger than a child, and his flesh had wasted away so that his pale skin stretched tightly over all his bones. His leg was hidden by a blanket, his hands were as thin and fragile as a girl's, and his eyes were huge. He looked up at us when we came and smiled wanly, wryly, and his wife and daughter looked up at us and his wife also smiled wanly, but his daughter did not smile at all. The first thing Short Kwi did was to rearrange the blanket over his foot to hide his toes, but not before we had seen them, dry and black, dead entirely like the toes of a mummy. His leg was the first thing in his mind, but this was natural; we reminded him of better days.

We sat down at his fire to talk, all of us who had come from Nama and most of the people from his werf, and his wife gave those of us from Nama a palmful of sa, the finely powdered yellow-green leaves that smell halfway between roses and sage. We crossed our faces with it, sprinkling a stripe up the bridge of our noses to our foreheads and another stripe across our cheeks. It smelled very nice, a sweet present to give to someone who has arrived from a long journey. Hours later it was still fragrant and we could smell it, faintly, for days.

We asked Short Kwi to show us his leg and as he started to unwind the blanket the Bushmen from Nama leaned forward, fascinated, but the other Bushmen did not look because they had seen it before. Short Kwi drew back the blan-

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

PREFACE

The Bushmen of Southern Africa are today represented by scattered groups of hunters on the plains of the Kalahari and on the farms of South West Africa and Angola. They are a unique and mysterious people and have attracted the attention of numerous writers since the early settlers at the Cape first made contact with the Sonquas. In this Bibliography an attempt has been made to list most aspects of the culture of the Bushmen. A bibliography on rock art was compiled in 1947, thus only a few items appear on this subject. Those included are of interest because they suggest some facet of culture or culture history. Some items are predominently of a physical anthropological nature but contain sufficient ethnological information to justify their inclusion.

The items are arranged in alphabetical order under broad subject headings and an Author-Title index has been provided. The section entitled History, was included because it was felt that the earliest references to Bushmen at the Cape and later in the interior, are of interest, in creating a picture of the life and customs of the extinct groups of Bushmen. The history of the tragic clashes between the Bushman and other races which led to their extinction in most of Southern Africa, is traced in such historical works as J. Sutherland, Memoir respecting the Kaffirs Hottentots and Bosjesmans of South Africa and Donald Moodie, The Record

The main body of the bibliography is devoted to the ethnology of the Bushmen and here are included items by authors, some of whom are not ethnologists but whose work is of sufficient value to allow its inclusion in this section. The items included in the small section entitled Bushman Folklore, include popularised versions of the work of Dorothea Bleek and Lucy C. Lloyd. The section on Linguistics is purely restricted to works available in Johannesburg and no attempt has been made to obtain works by the Portuguese students of the Bushmen or other foreign linguistic studies. This can therefore claim to be no more than a token coverage of a field, in which a vast amount of work has been and still is, being done. The section entitled General, contains work not sufficiently scientific to be included under Ethnology, yet of interest, often because of their excellent illustrations. This section begins with works published after 1900 and works of a similar nature published before this date, appear in History.

Sources. Mendelssohn, South African Bibliography provided some of the older items. Many of the older periodical references were traced through the bibliography in - I. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples of South Africa and the Johannesburg Public Library's Index to South African Periodicals was also used. A list of periodical abbreviations indicates the sources consulted. Periodical titles were written out in full when they appeared only once.

Brief annotations are given in some cases. Page references and an indication of contents, have been provided for some of the older items which do not contain an index.

My sincere thanks are due to Prof. L.F. Maingard, Prof. M.C. Marwick, and Mr. C. B. Silberbauer for their valuable advice, to Prof. Manuel Guerreiro for kindly sending material on the Portuguese contribution to Bushman Studies, of which I could include only a very small number, and to Prof. P.V. Tobias for so kinily allowing me access to his bibliography on cards in the Anatomy Department.

I: HISTORY

1. ALEXANDER, Sir James Edward 113
An expedition of discovery into the interior of Africa through the hitherto undescribed countries of the Great Namaquas, Boschimans and Hill Damaras, performed under the auspices of Her Majesty's Government and the Royal Geographical Society. London 1838. 2 vols. illus.

Vol. 1 p. 237-238 Bushman method of fishing
p. 241-242 Bushman encampment
Encounter with a group of Bushmen
p. 281-292 Hunting, poison, clothing etc.
Vol. 2 p. 18-26 Dress, customs etc, a Bushman dance
p. 113-118 Belief about a peculiar snake: conversation with a Bushman
p. 123-125 Bushman religious beliefs
p. 114-147 Ostrich hunting in disguise
p. 227-228 Bushman beliefs about snakes

2. ALMEIDA, Antonio de
Dos Bosquimanos e Hottentotes na Historia en na ciencia. illus. bib. Bol Soc. Geog. Lisboa, 72a (4-6): 191-215. Apr.-June, 1954. [648 197]

Portuguese said to be first Europeans with whom the Hottentots and Bushmen came into contact. English summary.

3. ANDERSON, Andrew A
Twenty-five years in a wagon: sport and travel in South Africa. rev. ed. London. 1888. 423 p. illus. map.

p. 212-215 Bushmen
p. 227 Meeting with Bush-Koranna group
p. 228-236 Kalahari types

4. ANDERSSON, Charles John
The Okavango river: a narrative of travel, exploration and adventure. London, 1861 363 p. illus.

p. 143 Effect of Bushman arrow poison
p. 150-151 Bushmen described

5. ARBOUSSET, Thomas
Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est la colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance entrepris dans les mois de mars, avril et mai. 1836 par MM. T. Arbousset et F. Daumas. missionaires de la société des missions évangéliques de Paris. Paris, 1842. 597 p. illus.

p. 479-526 Bushman social life and customs, language

72. ELLENBERGER, Victor
La fin tragique des Bushmen les derniers hommes vivants de l'age de la pierre. Paris, 1953. 264 p. illus. bibl. 113

73. ENCYCLOPAEDIA of religion and ethics ed. James Hastings. Edinburgh, 1926. 12 vols.

p.205a-208a Bushmen. Tati Bushmen by S. Dornan
(Index p.96 refers to numerous references on Bushmen)

74. ESTERMANN, R.P. Ch.
Quelques observations sur les Bochimanes ! Kung de L'Angola meridionale. illus.

Anthrop. 41/44: 711-722. 1946-1949.

75. FISCHER, (Oberleutnant)
Eine Erdkundung des Gebiets swischen Omuramba u Owambo und Okawango. illus.
Mitt. deuts schutz 23 (1): 44-48. 1910.
(Heikung and !Kung).

76. FOURIE, L.
Preliminary notes on certain customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen
Jour. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.1: 49-63, 1925-1926.

77. FOURIE, L.
The Bushmen of South West Africa.
The Native tribes of South West Africa. Cape Town, 1928. illus.
p. 81-103

78. FRITSCH, Gustav von
Drei jahre in Sûd-Afrika: Reiseskissen nach Notizen des Tagebuche zusammengestellt. Breslau, 1868.
Bushmen p. 96,97, 98, 99,110,242,274,279,295.

79. FRITSCH, Gustav von
Die Eingeborenen Südafrika's Atlas enthaltend dreissig tafeln racetypen. Breslau, 1872. 2 vols.
Bushmen. pl. XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX, XXX.
(Unique photographs).

80. GARBUTT, H.W
Native witchcraft and superstition in South Africa. illus.
Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst. 39: 530-558. 1909. Bushmen. 557 ff.

81. GOODALL, E.
Domestic animals in rock art.
Trans. Rhod. Sci. Assoc. 41: 57-62. April, 1946. illus.
(Of historical interest as figures represent Bushmen meeting with another race, possibly the Hottentots) [648] [197]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /õassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 20°34'36" E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

553 602 835 [601] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 553 601 602 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /õassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */õassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 613 622 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A considerable amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time 768 of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 648 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non-Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

The economic position

Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life, barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life. (Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the
241
439 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not collectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; otherwise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
221
464 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
648 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering, but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with, and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

131
184
648

Kuangari, Bunja, Sambiu, Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei, Batawana, Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a [224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and [222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of [446] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands. However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact 131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties 184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river 602 582 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The location of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

621 seem more appropriate to use the non-committal term "camp" and discard the term "band".[1]

563 162 Apart from the fifteen independent camps, there were 122 !Kung Bushmen living with the Bantu. Thirteen Bush women were married to Bantu men.[2] Five of these women had borne a total of nine children who were being raised as members of their fathers' tribes and are therefore not enumerated in the Bushman census. Some of the women had brought members of their families to live at their husbands' kraals. Twenty-eight of the !Kung Bushmen were living with their Bantu in-laws. In all, the wives of Bantu and their kinsmen account for 39 of the 122 !Kung living with Bantu. There were no cases of a Bantu girl marrying a !Kung man.

• 648 464 233 Some families of Bushmen live with and work for Bantu families. Five young married men were working as cattle herders. They brought their wives and children to live with them. In addition, seven unmarried !Kung boys were working on cattle and were living in the compounds of their employers. Several old couples and a widower, who were temporarily not

---

[1] This follows the lead of James Woodburn, who in his analysis of Hadza group structure (1964) discards the term "band".

[2] One of the thirteen had actually married a N/hai Bushman (the only non-!Kung Bushman in the Dobe area). This man was culturally identified with the Bantu.

attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu. These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families, numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception, is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

of the !Kung who were independent at the time of the census had a History of living with Bantu for periods in the past.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the !Kung living arrangements have been affected by the Bantu presence, beyond stating the obvious facts, that, until the Bantu came, there could be no intermarriage and no opportunities for employment. At this stage of analysis, it would certainly be premature to attribute the fluidity of band membership to the effects of contact, since there is good evidence that this flexibility is adaptive in the context of traditional subsistence patterns (see Chapters VII and VIII).

A history of contact

127 This historical sketch of the period 1879-1965 is based on the testimony of informants resident in the Dobe area. Since none of the Bushmen and very few of the Bantu had any knowledge of the dates of historical events, these were provided by discussions with the British administration at Maun and by a survey of the early literature on the area.

173 The pre-contact period - There is no evidence in their oral tradition that the !Kung of the interior have migrated there from elsewhere. This corroborates the !Kung belief quoted by Lorna Marshall that "they have lived in the Nyae [174] Nyae area since time began" (1960:325). The interior !Kung cannot, by their own account, be considered to be recent refugees from more favorable habitats.

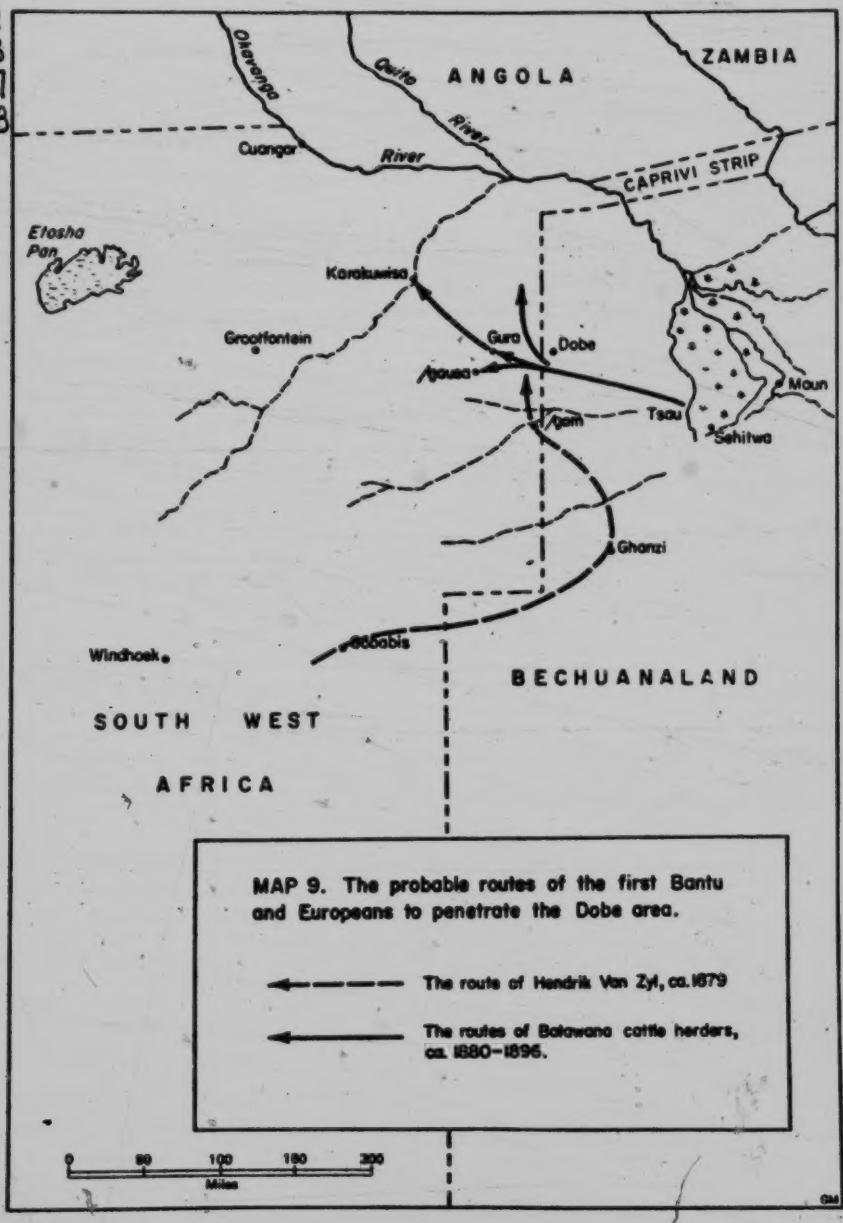
174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 Early contacts, 1879-1925 - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
• 648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/67]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

102
133
167
• 648



MAP 9. The probable routes of the first Bantu and Europeans to penetrate the Dobe area.

The route of Hendrik Van Zyl, ca. 1879

The routes of Batawana cattle herders, ca. 1880–1896.

175
• 648 late 1870's, Van Zyl was hunting elephant and rhinoceros in the Ghanzi District. In 1879, he camped at /gam and is known [563] to have visited /ai/ai and !ubi. One of the white hunters with Van Zyl had an affair with a !Kung woman named n/ahka; the descendents of this union are today living at !ubi. These people acknowledge their European ancestry but otherwise are culturally !Kung.

During roughly the same period, the Batawana cattle herders from the Tsau area on the Okavango swamps began to move their cattle out to summer waterholes in the west. By the 1890's, they had penetrated as far west as Karakuwisa in what was then German South West Africa. They had also established cattle posts at /ai/ai, Gura, and at /gauša Pan (see Map 9).

The Rinderpest epidemic of 1896-7, is an historical landmark throughout the stock raising areas of southern Africa. At the time of the outbreak only two Batawana families were summering their herds of cattle in the interior. The Ramadjagote family was at /Gauša Pan and the Ledimo family was at Gura. The Rinderpest devastated the herds on the Okavango but fortunately did not reach the central !Kung interior. When the two families drove their cattle back to the river after the epidemic had passed, it was found that theirs were the only herds left intact in western Ngamiland.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

175
• 648 The Ramadjagote and Ledimo families owe their present pre-eminent position in Batawana tribal affairs to that stroke of fortune, because in exchange for the use of their breeding stock the two families were granted by the tribe two vast tracts of land west of the Okavango swamps.

The Ledimo family received rights to hunt, to graze their cattle and to collect tribute over all the lands that lay west of the swamps and north of the Aha Hills. The Ramadajagote family received a similar concession over the lands that lay south of the Aha Hills (see Map 10). Both families have exercised these rights in Western Ngamiland until recent years and one of the senior Ledimos still maintains a cattle post at n!aun!au. However, in 1965, with the election of the first democratic government in Bechuanaland, these and other traditional concessions are being abolished.

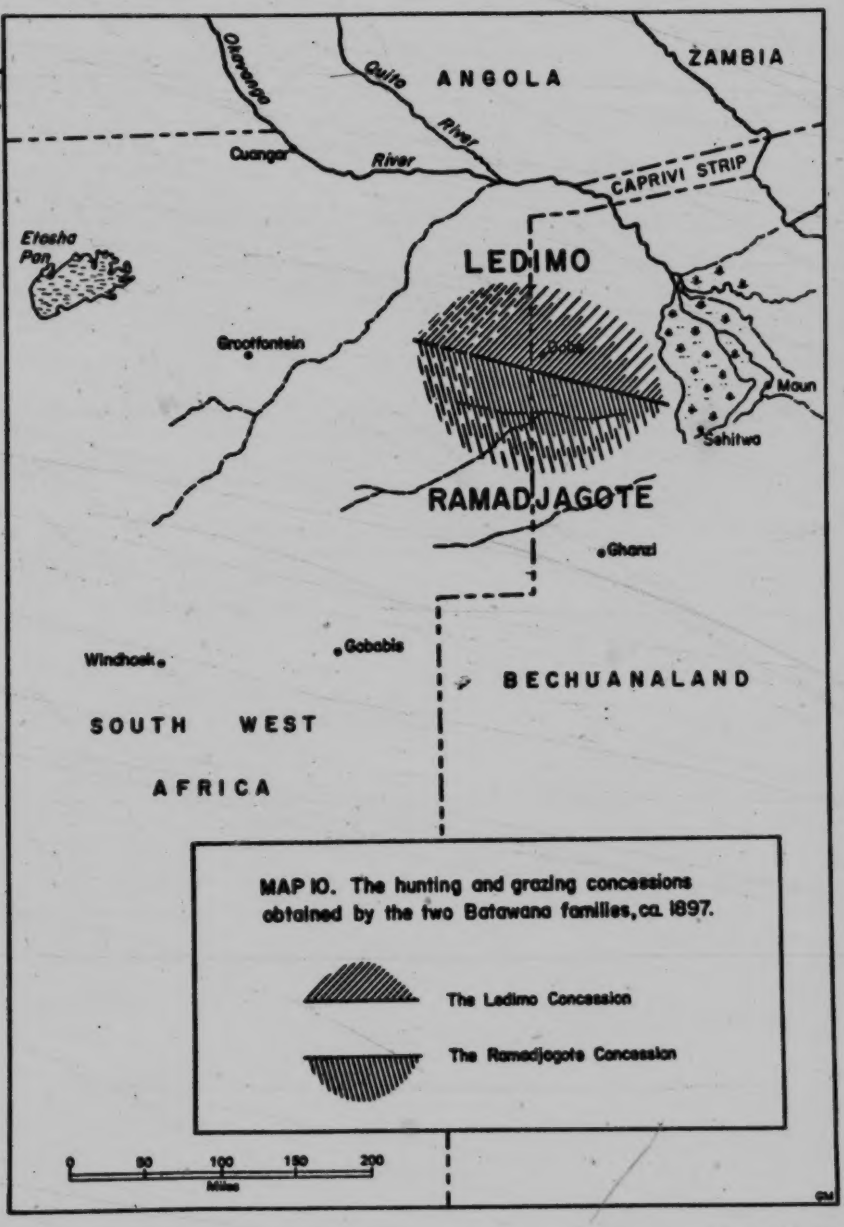
It should be added that although the British declared a protectorate over Bechuanaland in 1896 (Sillery 1952:60ff), their official presence was not felt in the Dobe area until many years later. In 1934, Captain Webb of the Bechuanaland Police made the first official tour of duty to !angwa and /ai/ai.

The next historical event to affect the !Kung of the interior was the Herero-German War of 1904-07. In 1904, the Hereros of South West Africa rose in rebellion against a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 60/61]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

102
133
175
648



175
• 648 cruel German administration. The Germans launched a genocidal campaign against the Hereros and succeeded in exterminating the majority of the tribe.[1] Several thousand Hereros, fleeing before the German patrols managed to escape east to Bechuanaland where the British government granted them asylum. Many of these refugees passed through the Dobe area on their way to safety and the details of their flight are remembered today by the older !Kung. One German patrol pursued the refugees as far as Gura, a well situated 30 miles west of Dobe, where they found an abandoned Batawana cattle post. Thinking that they had reached the frontier of British territory, they turned back, but before doing so, they carved a boundary marker on a baobab tree, which may still be seen today (see Map 11).

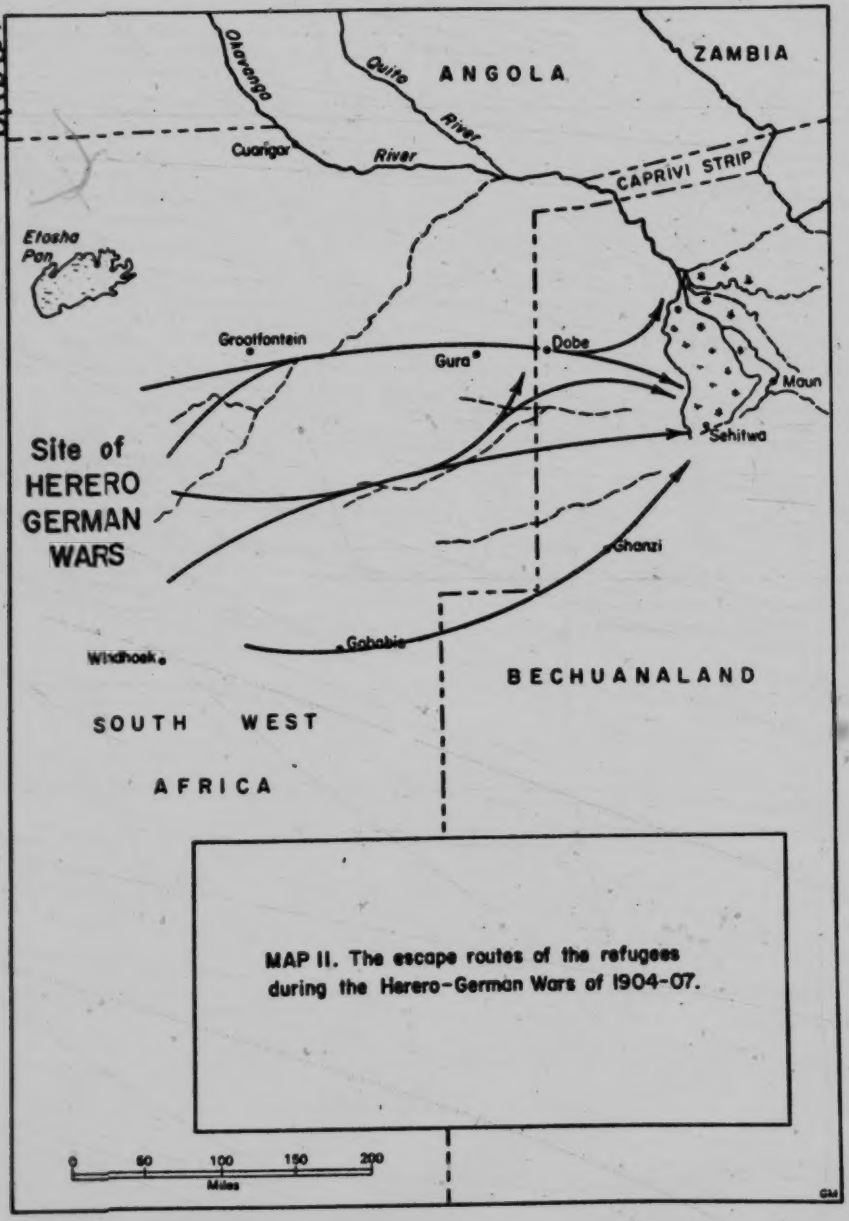
At the time of the rebellion none of the refugees had settled in the Dobe area. They all continued on to the Batawana villages on the swamps where they were given breeding stock and allowed to resume a normal life. Until the mid-1920's, the only non-Bushman presence in the interior was the annual summer hunting trips led by the Ramadjagote and Ledimo families.

---

[1]The ghastly details are found in the Union of South Africa's official inquiry (1918).

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

102
133
• 648
175



MAP II. The escape routes of the refugees during the Herero-German Wars of 1904-07.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

63/64.

175
• 648 Bantu settlement, 1925-1960 - Around 1925, the first Bantu families came to live permanently in the Dobe area. These families and those that followed them were drawn largely from the Herero refugees who had settled in the Tsau area a generation before. They apparently decided to move up-country in order to escape the overcrowded and overgrazed conditions prevailing in the river districts. In the early 1930's, ten more families settled in the Dobe area. These newcomers deepened several of the natural waterholes and dug three new wells to bring the total number of permanent water sources to eleven. In 1934, Captain Webb visited the area and reported that the Bantu were occupying these waterholes on the Bechuanaland side and other waterholes on the South West Africa side of the border. Bantu families continued to settle in the Dobe area throughout the 1930's and 40's, until by 1948, there were an estimated 150 Bantu with 3,000 head of cattle resident up-country.

For many years the relations between Bantu and Bushmen had gone unregulated. There were reports of Bushmen stealing cattle and of retaliatory measures by the Bantu which included whipping Bushmen and coercing the young men into service as cattle boys. In 1948, the Batawana tribal administration appointed Isak Utuhile, a Mutawana man resident at !Kabe, as the first official Headman of the Dobe area. This

175
648 appointment was precipitated in part by the murder in 1946 of a Mukgalahadi man by a !Kung Bushman. It was many months before a police patrol could reach the Dobe area to arrest the suspect.[1] The tribal government felt at the time that a more permanent representative of their authority was required. Isak described as his terms of reference the prevention of cattle theft and the prevention of exploitation of Bushmen by the Bantu. Since 1948, Isak has administered customary law and judged disputes from his Kgotla (court) at !angwa.

The Bantu population of the Dobe area remained stable until 1954 when there occurred a major influx of Herero pastoralists from the Makakun area to the east. The circumstances that brought this move about are worth mentioning because this migration initiated a series of political events that have produced the present curious situation in the Dobe area.

In the late 1940's, there had been an expansion of Tsetse fly into cattle-raising areas that had formerly been free of fly. This forced hundreds of pastoralists to evacuate the infested areas and thus put an even greater pressure on the grazing in the shrinking fly-free areas. The Dobe area, which starts 60 miles west of the Tsetse fly front, appeared

---

[1] The suspect, a young man named ≠oma, was arraigned in Maun in September, 1946, but for unknown reasons was never brought to trial.

175
• 648 to offer to the displaced Hereros an attractive living space. Accordingly some 18 families totalling over 120 people with 4,000 head of cattle trekked west in 1954. But instead of settling at the Dobe area wells, these migrants "leap-frogged" these wells and trekked directly into South West Africa where they occupied the waterholes of the Nyae Nyae area. There was a long standing precedent for such a move. Pastoralists from Bechuanaland had been summering cattle in South West Africa since the 1890's, and some of the Dobe area Bantu spent the year round at their South West cattle posts.

The Marshall family had made their first expedition to the Nyae Nyae pans in 1951. At that time they found a few of the water sources supporting Bantu cattle posts. They returned on their second expedition in 1955 to find what appeared to be a major Bantu encroachment of the Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region. Their reports to the South West Administration led to the expulsion of these Herero in 1956 and the closing of the border to all movements of cattle. The Bantu were forced to withdraw to wells on the B.P. side and today the majority of them are bunched up at two wells within five miles of the border. Since 1957, the South African police have patrolled the border road and they have shot on sight any cattle that stray across the line into South West Africa.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

175
• 648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 The period of European presence, 1960-1965 - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

---

[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

• 648 the interior is the construction of a cattle fence along the length of the Bechuanaland/South West Africa border. This job was scheduled to begin in February 1965, and will serve to isolate further the B.P. !Kung from their relatives in South West Africa.

361
312 was simple. Each waterhole supported one independent camp and each camp had its own territory.

Two of the waterholes, Mahopa and !xabe, lacked independent camps and therefore were not part of a territory. [648] The Bushmen who drank at these waterholes lived in Bantu [222] villages. They collected food in the adjacent territories of other camps such as Dobe !ubi and !angwa (see Map 14).

361
602 The sharing of a single territory by two or more camps reflected the close kinship ties between the camps. This was obvious at Dobe where the leaders of the two camps were a brother and sister who often brought their two groups [562] together to make a common camp. It was also obvious at !goše where the four camps were led by descendants and collaterals of one old woman. In previous years these four independent groups at !goše had lived in one large camp.

361 The territorial arrangements of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen, like their group structures, were extremely flexible. Most territories overlapped with one or more adjacent territories. The boundaries of territories were vaguely defined and there were areas between territories which were not claimed by any of the camps. The Bushmen did not conceive of territories as areas of exclusive occupation. The concept of territorial defense was lacking. Each territory consisted, in the words of Mrs. Marshall, of "a waterhole and a side" (L. Marshall 1960:334). This point is illustrated in Map 14.

221
312
361 The distribution of camps during the summer follows two phases. In the early phase when water is standing in a dozen or more localities camps are found at most waters. This is the time of maximum freedom of movement because ponds fill up in the usually waterless belts and make it possible for people to visit relatives 35-70 miles away.

The distribution of camps in December 1963 is illustrated in Map 17, p.157.

The second phase of summer life begins as these smaller waters dry up in February and March. Then most of the Bushmen converge on the large summer waters such as !Gauŝa Pan (not to be confused with /Gauŝa Pan in the Nyae Nyae area).

!Gauŝa Pan in its peak season (Jan-March in 1964) was a pond 400 feet long and 125 feet across, located in a local [162] drainage area between two dunes. In addition to a resident [648] population of 40 Bushmen (augmented by dozens of temporary visitors) the pan supported four Bantu cattle posts with [136] about 500 head of cattle. The pan was a watering place for kudu and wildebeeste and had resident flocks of red-billed teal, white-bellied stork and hammerkops. Within a 3 mile radius of the pan there were remains of at least ten abandoned Bushmen camps that had been occupied in previous years.

[162] Besides !Gauŝa there were four other big pans in the Dobe area, each of which supported large Bushmen camps (of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 158]

883
224 A boy does not begin to play-hunt until he is twelve years old, and seven or eight years may pass before he kills his first buck, an event which signals his entry into manhood. [648] Nowadays many adolescent boys spend several years working on [464] the Bantu cattle posts where they receive clothing and rations. [582] This interval of work undoubtedly delays their attainment of social maturity and boys do not normally marry until they reach their middle twenties. It is significant that, upon marriage, practically all of the young men return to the camps and take up hunting as a full time occupation.

888 The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society. They are the effective as well as the titular leaders of the camps. The oldest people are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren long after their productive years have
888 passed. The blind, the senile and the crippled are held in
734 awe and respect by the Bushmen, because they often possess special ritual and technical skills. For instance, /wan!a, the eighty year old female leader of the !gose camps, was senile and partially blind, but she was recognized as the leading exponent of the Women's Curing Dance. The two male elders of the !gose camps were both totally blind, but this did not prevent their active participation in decision-making and in ritual curing.

000 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social

814 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 [177] The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
648 received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[464] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine. At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[177] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dorman states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 436; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in large groups.

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gokwe with ninety.[6]

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given, as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough estimates, not accurate observations. There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal.

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are not always found living together in one encampment. Within the

[1] *Die Buschmänner*, 9, 10. [2] *The Naron*, 4. [3] "Die Auin," 136.
[4] "Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," 530. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 50, and 30.
[5] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303, 302.
[6] "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 104.
[7] *Nama und Damara*, 234.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *!noe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
●648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jodtka, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 491; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

daughters are competely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxosani*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 10, 35; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 121–2; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 65–6; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 36. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the missionaries and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland" (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926–7, Colonial Reports No. 1379, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

619 621 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again [221] [423] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his [574] preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several 619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, 621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 619 621 628 [685] ●648 685 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 1; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game, then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen to its present vanishing figure."[1]

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous. Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing of a man by the members of another band always results in a state of feud.

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a long-standing enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens, an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness, and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or *Huwuba*, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: */Kuh* is elsewhere written *//Khun*, *//gauab* alternates with */gauab*, *gagorob* with */gau /gorob*, and so on.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people. Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious, contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that [114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by [276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact [177] with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis, pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When [648] imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into 000 the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 139; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140–4; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29–30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 93; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983–6 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1]

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2]

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the New Moon.[4]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.